**Health Economics Prelim** 

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# Question 1.

A. Using the Rothchild-Stiglitz framework, describe the types of equilibria that can occur in insurance markets where consumers have heterogeneous risk types, under different assumptions about the insurer's knowledge of individuals' risk types. Feel free to use graphical illustration or mathematical exposition to help answer the question, but be sure to explain the intuition of your answer in words.

# Answer:

The Rothschild-Stiglitz framework provides an insightful analysis of equilibria in competitive insurance markets characterized by heterogeneous risk types among consumers. The equilibria in such markets depend on the level of information available to insurers about individual risk types. Here, I explore different assumptions about the insurer's knowledge of individuals' risk types with an emphasis on imperfect information and their implications for market equilibrium. There are three scenarios: Perfect Information, Imperfect Information and Asymmetric Information with Partial Knowledge.

1. Perfect Information

**Assumption:** Insurers have perfect knowledge of each individual's risk type.

**Equilibrium:** In this scenario, insurers can perfectly price discriminate, offering contracts tailored precisely to each individual's risk level. Assuming the insurance market is perfectly competitive, the price insurance company offers equals the marginal cost to insure each consumer respectively.

**Intuition:** Perfect information eliminates adverse selection since premiums reflect true risk. Each individual pays a premium that corresponds exactly to their risk level, leading to a straightforward market equilibrium where insurers do not face unexpected payouts.

# 2. Imperfect Information

# 2.1 Pooling Equilibrium

Assumption: Insurers cannot distinguish between high-risk and low-risk individuals.

Equilibrium: Insurers offer a single contract to all individuals, resulting in a pooling

equilibrium. However, this equilibrium is unstable due to adverse selection.

**Intuition:** The pooling equilibrium is unstable because high-risk individuals disproportionately

purchase insurance, resulting in increased payouts for insurers. To compensate, insurers may

raise premiums, which can drive low-risk individuals out of the market, further exacerbating

adverse selection.

To illustrate the original work of the Rothchild-Stiglitz model, I will slightly modify the original

figures in their paper (1976) to explain the basic assumption of the model step by step and why

Pooling Equilibrium is not stable.

Unlike most economics and health economics diagrams, where x-axis represents quality of

insurance while y-axis represents price of insurance. In the Rothschild-Stiglitz model, the X-axis

represents income in the state of the world without an accident, while the Y-axis represents

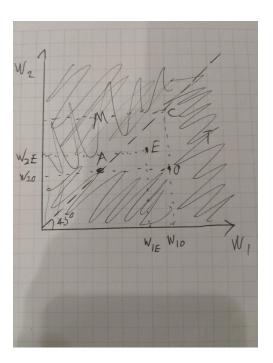
income in the state of the world with an accident.

The basic setup can be seen in Figure 1, where W\_1 is income without accident and W\_2 is income with accident. Imagine E is an insurance plan that an insurance company offers. If a consumer buys this insurance, his income without accident reduces to W\_1O to W\_1E because he pays the premium. Since he is insured, his income with accident will go up from W\_2O to W\_2E.

Under the Rothschild-Stiglitz framework, the only eligible area for this discussion is the triangle AOC, because following reasons:

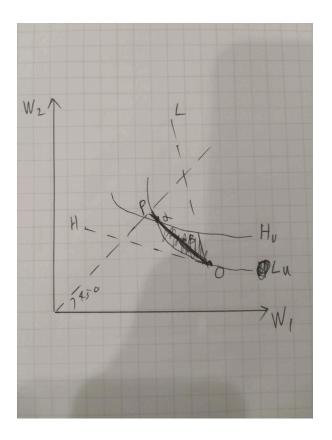
- Insurance companies will not pay consumers to buy insurance so anything right to the W\_1O is not feasible.
- 2. If someone buys insurance, the insurance company must compensate for the loss if someone gets into an accident, so anything below W\_2O is not feasible.
- 3. Anything above 45 degree lines is not possible because if someone has more income on sick/injured days, someone would prefer being sick, this induces moral hazard.

Figure 1:



Now I will focus on discussing the area of AOC, assuming there are two types of consumers: low-risk and high-risk consumers. In Figure 2, O is the original state in which consumers have no insurance. The dashed line L and dashed line H represent a series of actuarially fair insurance policies for low-risk consumers and high-risk consumers, respectively. These policies yield zero profit for insurance companies. Notice that the actuarially fair line OL is much steeper; this is because low-risk consumers have a lower probability of getting into an accident, so an insurance company can afford to insure them with a small premium. The bold line P represents the actuarially fair insurance policy for a pooling equilibrium, in which case insurance companies insure both high-risk and low-risk people.

Figure 2:



Curves H\_u and L\_u represent indifference curves. The flatter indifference curves of low-risk individuals in the Rothschild-Stiglitz model reflect their lower willingness to trade off wealth between the no-accident and accident states due to their lower probability of loss. Conversely, the steeper indifference curves of high-risk individuals reflect their higher willingness to trade off wealth between these states due to their higher probability of loss. This difference in the shape of the indifference curves is crucial for understanding the equilibrium in competitive insurance markets with heterogeneous risk types.

Now, assume point alpha is the pooling equilibrium. However, there is an alternative insurance policy beta. The point beta is still profitable for the insurance company for attracting low-risk people as it is on the left side of dash line OL. The essence of this model is that beta attracts

low-risk people because, at this point, their indifference curve is outward. However, for high-risk people, an indifference curve that crosses beta is actually inward from H\_u, so high-risk people will not choose this point. In fact, not only is beta a competing policy, but the entire shaded area in Figure 2 also represents possible competing health policies that are better than alpha. Therefore, any policy in these areas will be better than a pooling equilibrium.

### 2.1 Separating Equilibrium

**Assumption:** Insurers use self-selection mechanisms to indirectly determine individuals' risk types. Moreover, the low risk population is small enough relative to the whole population.

**Equilibrium:** Insurers design contracts that induce self-selection, where different risk types choose different contracts. This results in a separating equilibrium.

**Intuition:** Separating equilibria are stable because they ensure that individuals reveal their risk types through their contract choices. Insurers can price the contracts appropriately based on the revealed risk levels. This reduces the adverse selection problem but may lead to some inefficiencies, such as partial insurance coverage for low-risk individuals. In layman's terms, because consumers reveal their types, now insurance companies gain a lot of information to design possible health insurance policies.

Figure 3

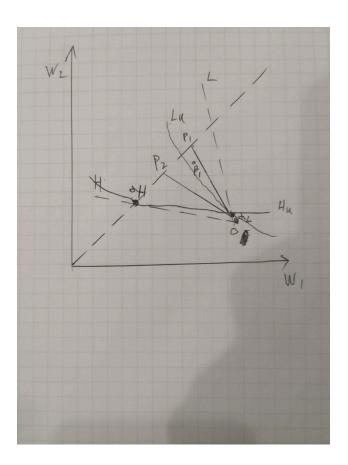


Figure 3 illustrates the existence of a separating equilibrium, conditional on the low-risk population being small enough relative to the entire population. With the same setup as in Figure 2, let us assume the insurance company offers high-risk individuals a full insurance policy, denoted as alpha\_H It is considered full insurance because it lies on the 45-degree line. The curve H\_u represents the utility curve that intersects alpha\_H

Now, the insurance company offers low-risk individuals an insurance policy alpha\_L, which is slightly below H\_u but just above the original no-insurance state O. This policy is designed to deter high-risk individuals because it is less favorable than alpha H.

The stability of alpha\_L depends on the proportion of high-risk individuals in the market. Imagine we have an actuarially fair insurance policy line, denoted as pooling equilibrium p\_1. There exists a policy beta\_1 that will attract both high-risk and low-risk individuals, as beta\_1 lies outward from both the indifference curves L\_u and H\_u. Consequently, there would be no separating equilibrium, as any policy between L\_u and P\_1 could potentially serve as a contender for a pooling equilibrium.

However, if the number of high-risk individuals is sufficiently large such that the actuarially fair insurance policy for the pooling equilibrium lies at P\_2, then the insurance company cannot afford beta\_1 because it is above p\_2. Any policy below p\_2 or, more precisely, below L\_u is worse than alpha\_L. Therefore, in this scenario, a separating equilibrium is possible.

### 3. Asymmetric Information with Partial Knowledge

# Assumption

Insurers have partial knowledge about individuals' risk types. This knowledge could include signals such as:

- **Demographic Information:** Age, gender, occupation, etc., which may correlate with risk.
- **Prior Claims History:** Information about past claims can indicate future risk behavior.

# **Equilibrium**

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The nature of the equilibrium—whether pooling or separating—depends on how effectively

insurers can use these signals to distinguish between different risk types.

3.1 Weak Signals: Pooling Equilibrium

When the signals are weak or not very informative, insurers struggle to differentiate effectively

between high-risk and low-risk individuals. As a result, they may end up offering a single

contract to all individuals, leading to a pooling equilibrium.

Intuition: With weak signals, insurers cannot effectively separate high-risk from low-risk

individuals. They offer a contract that partially adjusts for the average risk but does not fully

mitigate adverse selection. High-risk individuals are more likely to buy the insurance, leading to

a higher overall risk pool than initially anticipated.

3.2 Strong Signals: Separating Equilibrium

When the signals are strong and reliably indicate risk types, insurers can design contracts that

induce self-selection, leading to a separating equilibrium.

**Intuition:** Strong signals enable insurers to better estimate individual risk and offer contracts

that high-risk and low-risk individuals will self-select into. This reduces adverse selection by

ensuring that each group pays premiums that accurately reflect their risk level. The separating

equilibrium is more stable and efficient as it aligns premiums with the true risk.

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B. Suppose an insurer adopted a managed care technique like prior authorization to control utilization. How would that sort of technique get incorporated into the Rothchild-Stiglitz framework, and why?

# Answer:

# **B.1**

To incorporate managed care techniques like prior authorization into the Rothschild-Stiglitz framework, the model must be adjusted to reflect how these techniques influence the behavior of both insurers and insured individuals.

# 1. Insurance Contract Design:

- Traditional Contracts: In the original Rothschild-Stiglitz model, insurance contracts are defined by the level of coverage (alpha) and the premium charged.
   High-risk individuals typically prefer contracts with more coverage, while low-risk individuals opt for less coverage to avoid high premiums.
- Managed Care Contracts: With prior authorization, contracts are not solely
  defined by coverage and premiums but also by utilization controls. This means
  that a contract includes clauses that specify the need for prior authorization for
  certain services.

### 2. Behavioral Adjustments:

 Insured Behavior: Managed care techniques alter the behavior of insured individuals by imposing additional steps before certain services are approved. This reduces the likelihood of unnecessary services being used, addressing moral hazard by aligning the insured's incentives with cost-effective care.

Selection of Contracts: The presence of prior authorization can make certain contracts less attractive to high-risk individuals who anticipate needing more frequent and diverse medical services. As a result, high-risk individuals might be more likely to select contracts with fewer utilization controls but higher premiums, while low-risk individuals might opt for contracts with prior authorization due to lower premiums. This creates conditions to make a separating equilibrium more plausible.

### 3. Equilibrium Adjustments:

- Separating Equilibrium: In the original framework, separating equilibria are achieved by designing contracts that deter high-risk individuals from choosing low-risk contracts. With prior authorization, insurers can offer a contract with lower premiums and prior authorization requirements that is less attractive to high-risk individuals who require more extensive care.
- Pooling Equilibrium: A pooling equilibrium occurs when all individuals, regardless of their risk type, choose the same insurance contract. Introducing managed care techniques like prior authorization affects the stability and feasibility of this equilibrium.
- Attraction of Low-Risk Individuals: Contracts with prior authorization and lower premiums may attract low-risk individuals, who anticipate needing fewer medical services.

 Repulsion of High-Risk Individuals: High-risk individuals, who expect to need more services, may be repelled by the utilization controls and opt for contracts without such restrictions.

This divergence in preferences can destabilize a pooling equilibrium.

**B.2** 

# Why Incorporate Managed Care Techniques?

- 1. **Mitigating Moral Hazard**: Prior authorization helps mitigate moral hazard by ensuring that medical services are used appropriately and only when necessary. This aligns the insured's incentives with cost-effective care, reducing the overutilization of services.
- 2. **Addressing Adverse Selection**: By incorporating prior authorization, insurers can design contracts that better differentiate between high-risk and low-risk individuals. High-risk individuals, who expect to need more services, are less likely to choose contracts with stringent utilization controls, thereby helping to sort individuals based on their risk levels.
- 3. Cost Control: Managed care techniques help control the overall costs of providing insurance by preventing excessive and unnecessary medical expenditures. This cost control is crucial for maintaining affordable premiums and ensuring the sustainability of the insurance market.

C. A regulator can take a number of actions to help reduce adverse selection. Discuss one example of such a regulatory action. Describe how that action intends to reduce adverse selection, the strengths and weakness of that action with respect to reducing adverse selection, and any empirical evidence on the effects of that sort of action.

# Answer:

I will take the health insurance mandate as an example.

# 1. Description and Intention

An individual mandate, such as the one implemented in Massachusetts and later in the Affordable Care Act (ACA), requires individuals to purchase health insurance or pay a penalty. The primary intention behind this regulatory action is to reduce adverse selection in the insurance market. Adverse selection occurs when individuals with higher health risks are more likely to purchase insurance, leading to higher premiums and potentially driving out healthier individuals from the insurance pool, further exacerbating the problem. The mandate aims to bring healthier individuals into the insurance pool, thereby balancing the risk and lowering average costs (Hackmann, Kolstad, & Kowalski, 2015).

### 2. Strengths and Weaknesses

# **Strengths:**

• Reduction in Adverse Selection: The mandate effectively lowers the average cost of insurance by increasing the proportion of healthy individuals in the insurance pool. The

Massachusetts individual mandate led to a significant decrease in premiums and average costs, indicating that healthier individuals were entering the insurance pool.

- **Increased Coverage:** The implementation of the individual mandate in Massachusetts significantly increased insurance coverage. The study (Hackmann et al., 2015) found that enrollment in the individual market increased by 26.5 percentage points, demonstrating the effectiveness of the mandate in expanding coverage.
- **Welfare Gains:** The mandate resulted in welfare gains due to the reduction in adverse selection. The study estimated an annual welfare gain of 4.1 percent per person or \$51.1 million annually in Massachusetts (Hackmann et al., 2015).

#### Weaknesses:

- Compliance and Enforcement Issues: Ensuring that individuals comply with the mandate can be challenging. The penalty may not be sufficiently high to compel all individuals to purchase insurance.
- Equity Concerns: The mandate might disproportionately affect lower-income individuals who might find it financially burdensome to purchase insurance, even with subsidies.
- Political and Public Resistance: Mandates can be politically contentious and may face significant public opposition. The Massachusetts mandate faced legal challenges, and similar opposition was observed with the ACA's individual mandate.

### 3. Empirical Evidence

The empirical evidence from Massachusetts provides a detailed analysis of the effects of the individual mandate. Hackmann, Kolstad, and Kowalski (2015) estimated the impact of the

mandate using data from Massachusetts. They found that the mandate led to a significant decrease in premiums and average costs, indicating a reduction in adverse selection. Specifically, the premiums and average costs decreased by 23.3 percent and 8.7 percent, respectively, relative to Massachusetts' pre-reform levels (Hackmann et al., 2015). The study also estimated an annual welfare gain of 4.1 percent per person or \$51.1 million annually due to the reduction in adverse selection.

# References

Hackmann, M. B., Kolstad, J. T., & Kowalski, A. E. (2015). Adverse selection and an individual mandate: When theory meets practice. *American Economic Review, 105*(3), 1030-1066.

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# Question 3.

There are many market failures in health care and health insurance.

A. Identify three market failures that lead to large costs in terms of economic inefficiency. In two or three paragraphs for each, explain the nature of the market failure. Your answer should make the case that the welfare costs of market failure are high, using both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence.

### Answer:

A.

 Three market failures that are most discussed in health economics are adverse selection, moral hazard and monopoly.

Economic inefficiency occurs when resources are not used in a way that maximizes the potential output or welfare. It represents a situation where goods and services are not distributed or produced optimally, leading to a loss of potential economic value or social welfare. In other words, economic efficiency relates to Pareto efficiency and Productive efficiency.

#### 1.1 Adverse selection

In the presence of adverse selection, Pareto efficiency is compromised because the market does not achieve the optimal allocation of resources. Specifically:

1. **Suboptimal Insurance Coverage**: Low-risk individuals, who value insurance at a lower premium, drop out of the market because the premiums are set too high to cover the

high-risk individuals. As a result, these low-risk individuals remain uninsured, which is suboptimal from a welfare perspective.

2. **Market Exclusion**: When adverse selection drives premiums up, it excludes some individuals who would otherwise benefit from insurance, leading to a scenario where improving one party's welfare (by providing insurance to low-risk individuals) would require redistributing the risk and potentially making high-risk individuals worse off.

One could also argue that adverse selection leads to loss of productivity efficiency, because it increases administrative cost because insurers may need to invest more in underwriting and screening processes to better assess and price individual risk.

Theoretical arguments suggest that adverse selection leads to inefficiency because insurance markets fail to pool risk effectively, leading to underinsurance or complete market breakdowns. According to the seminal work by Rothschild and Stiglitz (1976), in competitive insurance markets with asymmetric information, separating equilibria can arise where different risk types are offered different contracts. However, these equilibria are often inefficient as they do not achieve risk pooling, resulting in welfare losses.

Abundant empirical evidence shows adverse selection leads to large costs in terms of economic inefficiency. Brown, Duggan, Kuziemko, and Woolston (2014) highlight the adverse selection issues in Medicare Advantage, showing that actual costs conditional on the risk score of those joining Medicare Advantage fell substantially after 2003, relative to those remaining in traditional Medicare. We can see retrospectively that adverse selection indeed caused large efficiency loss, that is why after addrssing adverse selection, costs fell.

#### 1.2 Moral Hazard

Moral hazard can lead to a loss of economic efficiency, impacting both Pareto efficiency and productive efficiency.

First, Moral hazard leads to a loss of Pareto efficiency because of following reasons:

- Overconsumption of Healthcare Services: Insured individuals may consume more
  healthcare services than necessary because the insurance covers a significant portion of
  the cost. This overconsumption leads to an allocation of resources that is not optimal, as
  the marginal benefit of the additional healthcare services consumed is less than the
  marginal cost of providing them.
- 2. **Resource Misallocation**: The increased demand for healthcare services due to moral hazard can lead to a misallocation of resources within the healthcare system. Resources that could be used more efficiently elsewhere are instead used to provide services of marginal benefit to the insured individuals.

Second, Moral hazard leads to a loss of Productive efficiency because of following reasons:

- Increased Healthcare Costs: The overutilization of healthcare services due to moral hazard increases the overall cost of healthcare provision.
- 2. **Inefficient Use of Resources**: Moral hazard can result in the inefficient use of healthcare resources.

Theoretical models, such as those developed by Pauly (1968), illustrate how moral hazard leads to overconsumption of healthcare services, deviating from the socially optimal level of care. The model posits that when individuals are fully insured, the marginal cost of consuming healthcare

services is zero, leading to a higher quantity demanded than what would be optimal if they were paying out-of-pocket. Empirical evidence corroborates these theoretical predictions. The RAND Health Insurance Experiment found that individuals with more generous insurance coverage consumed significantly more healthcare services without corresponding improvements in health outcomes, indicating inefficient overuse of healthcare resources (Aron-Dine, Einav, and Finkelstein, 2013). However, it should be noted that the debate about the impact of RAND HIE is still ongoing, and there might be long-term health benefits. If there is an improvement in long-term health benefit, we should not view it as an example of moral hazard.

## 1.3 Monopoly

Market concentration or monopoly can also lead to both Pareto efficiency and productive efficiency.

First, loss of Pareto Efficiency:

- 1. **Higher Prices for Healthcare Services**: Providers with significant market power can charge higher prices for healthcare services than they would in a competitive market.
- 2. Reduced Access to Care: Higher prices can also lead to reduced access to healthcare for some individuals, especially those with lower incomes or inadequate insurance coverage. This reduced access results in a misallocation of resources, as some individuals forego necessary care due to cost, while others may receive more than they need.

Second, loss of Productive Efficiency:

1. **Higher Production Costs**: When providers have market power, they may face less pressure to operate efficiently. Without competitive pressure, there is less incentive to minimize costs, leading to higher production costs for healthcare services.

Reduced Innovation: In a competitive market, providers have incentives to innovate and
improve their services to attract more patients. Market power can reduce these incentives,
leading to less innovation and slower improvements in the quality and efficiency of
healthcare services.

Classic microeconomic theory such as monopolistic competition or duopoly indicate that increased market concentration among healthcare providers can lead to monopolistic behavior, resulting in prices that exceed the marginal cost of service provision. This pricing power distorts the market, reducing the overall welfare by decreasing consumer surplus and increasing the deadweight loss. Empirical evidence supports the high welfare costs associated with provider market power.

Empirical evidence supports the high welfare costs associated with provider market power. Studies have shown that hospital mergers often result in significant price increases without corresponding improvements in the quality of care. For example, research by Dafny, Ho, and Lee (2019) found that hospital consolidations led to significant price increases. Specifically, hospitals that gain system members within the same state but in different local markets experience a price increase of 7-10 percent relative to control hospitals. In summary, an increase in price deters people going to hospital more frequently, leading to allocation efficiency.

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B. Select one of the market failures. What public policies would effectively address this market failure? As in part (a), cite existing evidence to argue that the policy would be effective at improving economic efficiency. Please note that you may not "re-use" the answer to Question 1, Part C in this answer (i.e., you must select different examples of public policies).

# Answer:

#### B.

I select adverse selection as a market failure to be discussed here.

To address adverse selection, one effective public policy is the implementation of risk adjustment in health insurance markets. Risk adjustment involves transferring funds from insurers with relatively healthier enrollees to those with sicker enrollees, thereby reducing the incentives for insurers to select against high-risk individuals. This policy aims to level the playing field by compensating insurers for taking on higher-risk populations, thus promoting economic efficiency.

Geruso, Layton, McCormack, and Shepard (2021) provides a detailed analysis of risk adjustment and its impacts on adverse selection across both the extensive (whether to buy insurance) and intensive (which plan to buy) margins. The paper highlights the following points regarding risk adjustment:

**Reduction of Intensive Margin Adverse Selection**: Risk adjustment transfers help to balance the costs between more generous and less generous plans. By compensating insurers for enrolling higher-cost individuals, these transfers reduce the incentive for insurers to design plans

that attract only healthier individuals. This, in turn, mitigates the issue of plan choice being driven by health status, which can stabilize the market for more generous plans.

Interactions with Extensive Margin: The study shows that while risk adjustment primarily targets the intensive margin by reducing selection within the market, it also indirectly impacts the extensive margin. For instance, stronger risk adjustment can lower the premiums for more generous plans, making them more attractive to healthier individuals and potentially reducing the uninsurance rate. However, there are trade-offs, as seen in their simulations where stronger risk adjustment sometimes led to increased premiums for less generous plans, which could affect overall market participation.

**Empirical Evidence from Massachusetts**: Using data from the Massachusetts health insurance exchange, the authors simulate different policy scenarios and find that risk adjustment has significant impacts on equilibrium prices and enrollment. Stronger risk adjustment reduces the premiums for more generous plans, leading to higher enrollment in these plans and a more balanced distribution of health risks across plans.

In conclusion, Risk adjustment transfers are an effective public policy tool for addressing adverse selection in health insurance markets. By redistributing funds based on the risk profiles of enrollees, risk adjustment mitigates the financial incentives for insurers to select healthier individuals and encourages a more balanced risk pool. This policy improves economic efficiency by stabilizing premiums and promoting competition based on plan quality and efficiency rather than risk selection. The empirical evidence from the Massachusetts health insurance market supports the effectiveness of risk adjustment in achieving these goals, demonstrating its potential to enhance overall welfare in regulated health insurance markets.

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# Question 4.

"Global capitation" has emerged as a model of health care payment in recent years, where primary care organizations (for example, Oak Street Health and ChenMed) receive prospective risk-adjusted per-patient monthly payments, primarily from private Medicare Advantage plans. In return, the primary care organizations are financially responsible for **all** health care used by patients choosing to receive care from the organization (including hospital or emergency department care).

a. How do you predict that global capitation would affect the quantity of services provided to patients by primary care physicians relative to fee-for-service reimbursement? Under what circumstances would the level of services in global capitation fall below what is socially optimal for patient health?

### Answer:

I predict a drop in the quantity of service provided to patients under global capitation relative to fee-for-service (FFS) reimbursement. This is because global capitation changes the incentive structure for primary care physicians compared to FFS. Under FFS, physicians are paid for each service provided, incentivizing higher volumes of services, which can lead to overutilization and increased healthcare costs. In contrast, global capitation provides a fixed, risk-adjusted payment per patient, incentivizing cost-efficiency and preventive care. Health providers would not benefit from unnecessary medical services.

However, under global capitation, the quantity of services might fall below socially optimal levels if providers excessively limit care to reduce costs. This could occur if the capitation

payments are not adequately adjusted for patient risk, leading to under-provision of necessary services. Inadequate risk adjustment could incentivize providers to "cherry-pick" healthier patients or avoid high-cost patients, thereby compromising care quality for those with greater healthcare needs.

# **Circumstances Leading to Suboptimal Service Levels**

- Insufficient Risk Adjustment: If the risk adjustment formula fails to accurately predict
  healthcare needs, providers may receive inadequate compensation for high-risk patients,
  leading to under-provision of services.
- 2. Incentives for Cost Minimization: Providers under capitation might focus excessively on reducing costs, potentially at the expense of necessary care. This could result in patients not receiving timely or appropriate treatments, adversely affecting health outcomes.
- 3. **Market Pressures**: Intense competition among providers under capitation could drive some to cut corners on care quality to remain financially viable, further exacerbating the risk of under-provision.

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b. Discuss two potential problems that could arise from unconstrained competition between primary care organizations under global capitation. What are regulations that could prevent these problems?

# Answer:

I believe two most common problems from unconstrained competition between primary care organizations under global capitation are Risk Selection and Under-Provision of Care.

# 1.1 Risk Selection (Cream Skimming):

Under unconstrained competition, primary care organizations (PCOs) may engage in risk selection, also known as "cream skimming." This occurs when PCOs selectively enroll healthier patients who are less likely to require expensive healthcare services. By focusing on lower-risk individuals, these organizations can maximize their profits, as the fixed per-patient payments will likely exceed the cost of care for these patients. Conversely, sicker patients, who need more intensive and costly care, may find it difficult to enroll in these plans, leading to disparities in access to care and potential adverse health outcomes for higher-risk populations.

# **Regulations to Prevent Risk Selection:**

**1.2 Risk Adjustment Mechanisms:** Implementing robust risk adjustment mechanisms can ensure that payments to PCOs reflect the health status and expected costs of their patient populations. By adjusting payments based on the severity of patients' conditions, organizations have less incentive to avoid enrolling sicker patients.

### **Benefits:**

- Equitable Compensation: By adjusting payments to account for the expected costs of care for sicker patients, PCOs are more likely to receive fair compensation for taking on higher-risk individuals.
- Reduced Incentives for Cream Skimming: Accurate risk adjustment diminishes the financial incentive for PCOs to selectively enroll healthier patients. This promotes a more inclusive healthcare system where patients receive care based on need rather than their ability to attract lower-cost care.

### **Challenges and Solutions:**

- **Data Accuracy:** Ensuring accurate and comprehensive data collection is crucial for effective risk adjustment. This can be achieved through standardized reporting systems and electronic health records.
- Complexity: Risk adjustment models can become complex, requiring sophisticated statistical methods and computational resources. Investing in robust healthcare IT infrastructure and analytical capabilities can address this complexity.
- **1.3 Minimum Care Requirements:** Establishing minimum care requirements and standards can prevent PCOs from underserving high-risk patients. These requirements can include mandatory coverage of essential health services and quality benchmarks that PCOs must meet.

#### **Benefits:**

- **Standardized Care Quality:** By mandating a baseline level of care, these regulations ensure that all patients receive a minimum standard of healthcare, reducing disparities in treatment.
- Patient Protection: High-risk patients are protected from potential neglect or under-provision of services, as PCOs are legally obligated to meet the prescribed care standards.

### **Challenges and Solutions:**

- Enforcement: Effective enforcement of minimum care requirements requires a robust regulatory framework and sufficient resources for monitoring and compliance.

  Strengthening regulatory bodies and providing adequate funding can address this issue.
- **Flexibility:** While minimum care standards are necessary, it is also important to allow some flexibility to accommodate the unique needs of different patient populations and innovations in care delivery. Regulators can periodically review and update the standards to reflect best practices and emerging evidence in healthcare.

### 1.4 Under-Provision of Care:

Another potential issue with unconstrained competition under global capitation is the under-provision of care. Since PCOs receive a fixed payment per patient, there is a financial incentive to minimize the quantity of services provided to increase profitability. This can lead to inadequate care, where patients do not receive the necessary medical interventions, follow-ups, or preventive services. Over time, under-provision of care can result in worsening health outcomes and higher long-term healthcare costs due to the progression of untreated conditions.

# **Regulations to Prevent Risk Selection:**

# 1.5 Quality Monitoring and Reporting

**Purpose and Function:** Quality monitoring and reporting systems are essential to ensure that Primary Care Organizations (PCOs) provide a minimum standard of care, despite the cost-cutting incentives inherent in global capitation. These systems focus on continuous assessment and transparency to uphold care standards.

# **Implementation:**

- **Regular Audits:** Conducting regular audits by independent bodies can verify that PCOs are meeting established care standards. These audits can assess various aspects of care, such as adherence to clinical guidelines, patient outcomes, and overall care quality.
- Patient Satisfaction Surveys: Gathering feedback directly from patients through regular surveys helps measure patient satisfaction and experience. High levels of patient satisfaction typically correlate with better care quality and patient outcomes.
- Outcome Measures: Tracking specific outcome measures, such as rates of hospital readmissions, control of chronic conditions, and preventive care utilization, provides concrete data on the effectiveness of the care provided. These measures can be aggregated and analyzed to identify trends and areas needing improvement.

### **Benefits:**

• Accountability: Regular monitoring and reporting hold PCOs accountable for the care they provide. Knowing that their performance is being scrutinized can motivate PCOs to maintain high standards.

- Continuous Improvement: Data collected through these systems can be used to identify
  areas for improvement and implement evidence-based interventions to enhance care
  quality.
- **Transparency:** Publicly reporting the performance of PCOs can help patients make informed decisions about where to receive care, fostering a competitive environment where quality is a key differentiator.

### **Challenges and Solutions:**

- Data Integrity: Ensuring the accuracy and reliability of data collected for quality
  monitoring is critical. Implementing standardized data collection procedures and utilizing
  advanced health information technology can enhance data integrity.
- Resource Intensive: Quality monitoring and reporting require significant resources.
   Investing in healthcare IT infrastructure and training personnel can mitigate this challenge.

### Conclusion

In summary, unconstrained competition under global capitation can lead to significant issues such as risk selection and under-provision of care. To mitigate these problems, appropriate regulations and mechanisms, such as risk adjustment, minimum care requirements, quality monitoring, and performance-based incentives, are necessary. These regulations can help ensure that PCOs provide equitable, high-quality care to all patients, regardless of their health status, while maintaining the cost-efficiency benefits of the global capitation model.

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c. A hypothetical empirical analysis compared health service use among Medicare beneficiaries enrolled in global capitation compared to Medicare beneficiaries whose primary care providers received fee-for-service payment, controlling for observed patient health status. The analysis found lower overall health service use for global capitation patients and the authors concluded that global capitation reduced health care costs. Do you agree with this conclusion?

### Answer:

I do not agree with this conclusion for the following reasons:

- 1. Selection Bias: Selection bias is a critical factor to consider. If healthier patients are more likely to enroll in global capitation plans, the observed reduction in health service use may not be due to the payment model itself but rather the inherent lower healthcare needs of these patients. Conversely, sicker patients might avoid global capitation plans if they perceive potential under-provision of necessary services, further skewing the results. Robust methods, such as propensity score matching or instrumental variables, should be used to address this bias.
- Unobserved confounders: Patient preferences, socioeconomic factors or other factors, might still bias the results if not adequately controlled.
- 3. **Underutilization of Necessary Services:** Lower health service use might indicate underutilization of necessary services, which could lead to poorer health outcomes and higher long-term costs. If patients are not receiving appropriate preventive care, chronic

disease management, or timely interventions, their conditions might worsen, leading to more severe and costly health episodes in the future.

- 4. **Adverse Health Outcomes:** Reductions in health service use without corresponding improvements in health outcomes could imply that patients are foregoing essential care. This could result in increased morbidity and mortality, which are not immediately reflected in short-term cost savings but may lead to higher costs over time.
- 5. **Administrative Costs:** The implementation of global capitation requires robust administrative systems to manage payments, monitor care quality, and coordinate services. These administrative costs can be substantial and might offset the savings from reduced health service use.
- 6. Care Coordination Expenses: Effective care coordination under global capitation can involve significant resources, such as hiring care managers, investing in health information technology, and implementing new care processes. These expenses may not be captured in the analysis focused solely on health service use.

### Reference:

Cabral, M., Geruso, M., & Mahoney, N. (2018). "Do Larger Health Insurance Subsidies Benefit Patients or Producers? Evidence from Medicare Advantage." *American Economic Review*, 108(8): 2048-2087.